

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AS PEACE INSURANCE

(By Charles N. Wheeler, in New York Tribune.)

As a proposition of practical laboratory psychology Theodore Roosevelt, president of the United States, would be our best insurance against war. If the pacifists really want to keep us out of the European maelstrom they should see to it that T. R. is elected president in November. I suspect they will not do it. Not because they desire war, but because they do not know Mr. Roosevelt.

To them he displays all the illusions of a mailed-fisted, fire-snorting offsprung of Mars, and few or none of the virtues of a lover of peace. Such mental obtuseness is amazing in view of the peace record—the actual achievements—of this sometimes smasher of conventions and wrecker of precedents.

And lest this purely psychological controversy be confounded at the outset, permit me to make it quite clear that I am not attempting to press-agent Roosevelt. This is not a preachment. It is an impersonal, disinterested, scientific effort to prove the simple equation that T. R. equals peace. It is as disinterested as the demonstration of the theorem that the square of the hypotenuse of a right angle triangle is equal to the sum of the squares of the other two sides. We may as well employ this illustration in the demonstration.

Let T. R. equal the hypotenuse. Let the Kaiser's real estimate of T. R. and the British war office's appreciation of his character represent the squares of the other two sides. Now, immediately, we have determined the attitudes of the other two sides, the hypotenuse proves up in a single word, PEACE—if our exposition of these attitudes is correct.

Nor shall it be contended here that the hypotenuse spells peace because Roosevelt is the greatest living peace force in the world—by virtue of his having received the Nobel peace prize; by virtue of his having stopped the Russian-Japanese war and brought the statements of those nations to this country to conclude the terms of the treaty by virtue of his having mounted San Juan to bring peace to Cuba, and in a thousand ways whacked peace into many troubled communities with the big stick—but by the precise paradox that England and Germany would entertain a wholesome admiration for Roosevelt by virtue of the respect they have for him as a man's man, and more particularly for the fear of God he would put in their hearts if they deliberately sought to trick him, or, in the vernacular of the copy desk, tried to play horse with him.

Our assumption is that T. R. would demand a square deal not alone for the neutrals and humanity as a whole but for the belligerents themselves—and he'd get it. Now for the proof.

Even we cub reporters recall the Perdicaris Raisuli incident. President Roosevelt dispatched this message: "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead."

And Perdicaris came forth. It is no argument to contend it was a bluff. It worked. The deed is there. You can't inveigh against the completed act. It is the proof of the pudding—the Pennsylvania avenue psychology of Roosevelt.

Again: This story was told me by a reliable man. I know not what the truth may be, but, as the couplet runs, I tell it to you as it was told to me. We cub reporters also recall the Venezuelan affair, in which Castro, the spendthrift, either repudiated his debts to German bankers or was careless in remembering the dates of liquidation. In any event, Germany sent her bristling gunboats across the ocean to the Venezuelan port, intent on seizing the customs to satisfy the claims.

President Roosevelt invited the German ambassador at Washington to take a little stroll with him. The ambassador, for did the ambassador break the international record for walking through Rock Creek park, talked of the birds and the trees and the flowers. Arrived back at the White House, President Roosevelt remembered he had something he wanted to

say on state affairs. He then referred to the action of Germany in the Venezuelan dispute and suggested to the ambassador that his majesty's ships should depart from Venezuelan waters, say in ten days. (The Monroe doctrine.)

The ambassador protested that he couldn't interfere in any way in such a matter. He would be risking a reprimand. Whereupon the president remarked that the ambassador would be at fault if trouble came.

The two armed/sulphur/jkp issuer good luck good-bys.

A couple of days later the president again summoned the ambassador. He remarked, good-naturedly apparently, but decisively, that the American government had been thinking the matter over and had decided that instead of ten days but eight days would be about the proper time limit in which the German gunboats should depart.

Again the ambassador protested. Again the president observed that the ambassador would be held to "strict accountability" if the suggestion should be ignored.

The ambassador inquired what the president meant by "trouble." Thereupon the president informed him that orders had been dispatched that day to a certain fleet commander at Hampton roads to set sail for Venezuela. It was the president's note that the German ships should not be in evidence when the American commander arrived on the scene.

They weren't. It does not detract from the exposition here attempted that it was a bluff, unless every positive achievement throughout life be subject to the same criticism. It was the laboratory psychology of Mr. Roosevelt.

I also am told, by a reliable man, too, that in a certain arbitration dispute with another foreign nation now in the war up to its eyebrows President Roosevelt consented to arbitration for the sake of the principle, but only after he had private assurance that his contention would be upheld in the final award.

Let us now discard the smoked glasses.

Take Mexico. Had T. R. been president he would have said to Villa, doubtless, instead of recognizing his claim as the head of the pretended de facto government, as did the Bryan regime, something like this: "You cutthroat—you out-law—you pusher of women and destroyer of altars—fou get?" And he would have got it.

Not that Roosevelt could say it any more rhetorically than any one else, but because they would have felt in their souls that he would have backed his words with deeds.

Many of the Mexican outrages against the United States have come about largely because, in my opinion, the revolutionists and their leaders have felt somehow that the United States would not intervene if the outlaws raided the whole state of Texas. They would have known that deliberate violations under Roosevelt would have brought instant action. And because of that very belief—because they knew T. R. and knew he was unafraid—because there is neither east nor west when two strong men stand face to face—they would have shaped a different course.

Roosevelt's ways may not always be mild and pleasant to contemplate, but a close scrutiny of his life record does not disclose that he is a braver for the sake of the brawl, but for the sake of peace, for "social justice," for right's sake as he sees the right.

As president it may be correctly assumed, as a statement of the absolute in applied psychology, he would be the last man in the world to seek the humiliation of any nation, or to impose a rule of conduct not consonant with his view of the right of the thing.

Roosevelt knows! The old Greek injunction, *gnōthi se auton* (know thyself) is the ABC of Roosevelt's psychology in its application to foreign nations. He has not got his learning out of books, but out of men. His knowledge of Germany and England and the whole world, even "darkest Africa" and the "doubt" places of

South America, comes from the personal contact.

There are perhaps no two men in the world today who understand each other better than do Roosevelt and Emperor William of Germany. They, too, are somewhat alike—from the collar band up.

Down at Oyster Bay there is a cabinet filled with letters, notes, memoranda, and merry quips sent to T. R. personally by the Kaiser. The two have been such warm friends that it may be doubted that the emperor was considered T. R. the Kaiser or vice versa considered T. R. the Kaiser of amenity, has considered the Kaiser the T. R. of Germany.

When two such strong men know each other so thoroughly there is no imitation. They put all their cards on the table, face up.

With T. R. president, wouldn't something like this transpire the morning following his inauguration:

Both Berlin and London would immediately say unto themselves, after his wise: "We are dealing with a new manner of man now. We know him and he knows us. He thinks in our terms, not in books. He knows our conditions. He visions clearly our troubles and thinks he knows what the verities will stand for. Now let's put our cards all on the table and come to a definite understanding with this man, representing the American people, how far all of us can go with safety as between Europe and the 'United States.'"

Impossible? Not at all.

Germany does not want war with the United States. Germany knows that T. R. knows that. Both know that the United States does not desire war with Germany. Both know that the very existence of Germany seems to be in her balance. Both know that T. R. would not embroil Germany and the states merely for the sake of war, which would be a crime against humanity. So they would at once arrive at a covenant which both could respect without humiliation.

England does not want war with the United States nor the United States with England. No country is so vulnerable just now with respect to the United States as England. For the United States to sever all commercial and diplomatic relations with England would result in the absolute ruin of Britain in one hundred days. She would collapse from inanition, both physical and financial.

Roosevelt, brawler that he seems to be, would be the last man in the world to take advantage of any weakness on the part of either Germany or England. Go scan closely his life record.

But the whole world knows he's not afraid. That's the international power of his laboratory psychology.

And the whole world knows he would do this:

Like Richelieu, he would draw the circle of the new international law, with malice toward none, but charity for all, but a definite circle none the less, having in mind the history of 2,900 years and humanity's fundamental rights—the blessings of liberty—and say in words to this effect: Deliberately place but one foot inside that circle and we'll act before sunset!

There would be nothing ephemeral in the determination to act, either. They might call him a bull in a china shop, but he would be a bull with the necessary potency to smash the international china if they goaded him by attempting deliberately to dishonor this country or flout the cardinal principles of humanity's rights.

That's the strength of him.

The warring nations today could well afford to hand the whole mess over to T. R. Why? he would lean over backwards in his effort to be fair. But some of my good friends who are clashed with the ethnological exclamation points arise to inquire:

"Why waste your time over T. R. in view of the 4,000,000 German-American voters of the United States who have been so grievously affronted by Roosevelt's Jovian philippics provoked by the invasion of Belgium and the sinking of the Lusitania?"

Forsooth, that, at first blush, does loom a formidable barrier. It is some hurdle. But, Watson, we have anticipated you. After this fashion:

Ladies and gentlemen, citizens of republic! We have with us tonight that brilliant international scholar, Mr. Munsterberg—Prof. Hugo Munsterberg—perhaps the foremost psychologist of modern times; one who has brought to the American classroom the best thought of the German universities; one who, for erudition and clear thinking, towers head and shoulders above his contemporaries of whatever nation. (Applause.) And it now becomes my profound pleasure and distinguished honor to present to you (for such a one needs no introduction to an assemblage of thinking men) the honored guest of the evening, who will respond to the toast, "Theodore Roosevelt! The German Ideal!" (Great applause and hissing.)

Prof. Munsterberg, it may be noted parenthetically, is pro-German in his politics, and, being human like the rest of us, gets his politics mixed up a bit with his psychology. But no one will have the audacity to contend that Harvard's distinguished philosopher would lean purposely to the side of Roosevelt now in diagramming for us the absolute in his psychological survey of the man. As late, or as recent, as last December, Prof. Munsterberg "discovered the bridge" over which the German-American can reach the Roosevelt camp. I quote Munsterberg:

"The psychological equation of Roosevelt's personality makes him a pro-German in all that is best in him, and only his temper and his perpetual desire to be with the masses made him a pro-silly. If German-Americans see the small things small and the great things great, they will not stumble over adjectives."

That is, Munsterberg and his school, admittedly pro-German, hold that Roosevelt peculiarly typifies the efficiency of German kultur in all his life work. He is opposed to graft. There isn't any graft in German government and government municipalities as we Americans understand the word. He is against waste. Germany is frenziedly opposed to waste and doesn't have the problem to deal with. He is for the home as the group on which a stable government must look for its sinews of strong men and spiritualized patriotism. So is Germany. He is as

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near like the Kaiser in most of his economic and philosophic views as two peas are like unto another. He is habitually for honesty of service, high and low. Germany knows no other standard.

I resume the quote from Munsterberg's diagram:

"The little bits of abuse which I have read and the large piles of which I have succeeded in avoiding would indeed separate any other politician for all time from the self-respecting German-American voters. But the case of Roosevelt is entirely different. Every American knows him; some hate him, many love him; but no one takes him without a grain of salt. It would be simply absurd to measure his words by the same scale as those of Taft or Wilson. But the chief thing is that no one would like him other than he is. Not only that we tolerate his inconsistencies, but he would no longer be himself if his utterances ever become consistent. He is loyal to himself, and, therefore, to the nation, only by exaggerating every argument and shooting beyond the mark. When ever two Americans talk about him they can take it for granted that they agree in the essentials, namely: that he is intolerable, that all he says is wrong, that after all which has happened, he is an impossible presidential candidate, that he is the greatest man America has, and that surely he will be president again. German-Americans must seriously regret Roosevelt's having gone on the anti-German path, but they would make fools of themselves if they were to protest against the exaggerations in his anti-German exclamations. That is his temperament and his temper, the most superficial thing in the man."

"There remains, of course, the very fact that he has been trapped into the nets of those who wove the pro-peace newspaper opinion in this country. But even there Roosevelt is hardly to blame. He was slowly pushed to his platform by the events of the day. I have not the slightest doubt that there could have been no greater good fortune for Germany, as far as America is concerned, than if Roosevelt had been president in August, 1914. His temperament would never have allowed him to take the passive attitude of a real neutrality. Those unforgettable words with which Wilson characterized the neutrality which, as the events have shown, was not attainable in this country, would never have come from the lips of the vehement colonel. What he would have done with the whole vigor of his robust personality would have been to resist England's attack against America's independence. On the day on which England cut the German cables to America and made this nation dependent upon the British censor in those

decisive weeks in which American public opinion was to be formed, he would have been found not only fulminating words but means of action for energetic action. He probably would have threatened an embargo on arms if the means of communication and information from both belligerent sides were not put at the service of the American nation at once."

We have, Watson, yet another competent witness—Dr. John A. Walz, also pro-German in the chair of German language and literature at Harvard. Being duly sworn he deposes and says as follows: "The Progressive movement in this country (United States) is the attempt to apply German methods and principles of government to American conditions."

Perhaps Dr. Walz, among other things, has in mind Roosevelt's battling for old age pensions, for state socialism, for liability and compensation acts.

But I leave the riddle with you, wearied reader, in the words of Prof. Munsterberg, having proved the psychological hypothesis to my own satisfaction and that the hypothesis equals peace. In his lady or the tiger summary Munsterberg sweeps the whole controversy into this terse and withal comprehensive assumption:

"The presidential problem is simply: Wilson or Roosevelt; and both men know it. The presidential elections of next November will be decided by the German-Americans, and both sides know it."

F. S.—Wise virgins carry oil for their lamps, and prudent men carry umbrellas in cloudy weather.

May 19. The following program was rendered:

Welcome Song, "If We Were You and You Were Us." Seventh and Eighth Grades.

Salutatory, Mary England. Chorus, "On the Chapel Steps." Declaration, "Farm Life," Lyman.

Handkerchief Flirtation Drill, sixteen girls. Lecture, Professor Murdock of the Tempe Normal.

Valedictory, Lillian Schick. Presentation of Certificates, Mr. Dwight E. Heard.

Farwell Chorus, "We'll Now Have to Say Goodbye." The Parent Teachers' Association entertained the graduates and the parents of the graduating class Wednesday evening. The main feature of the entertainment was a helpful and stimulating address by Mr. Sims Ely.

The school trustees have called a mass meeting of taxpayers for Monday evening, May 22, for a conference on matters of importance to the district. It is understood that the members of the board will take the opportunity to make full reports on the operation of the schools during the past year, and the cost, and ask advice as to the needs of the future. It is hoped that everyone interested in the schools will be present and that there will be a full and profitable discussion.

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